

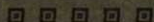
THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL
REPORT

OF THE

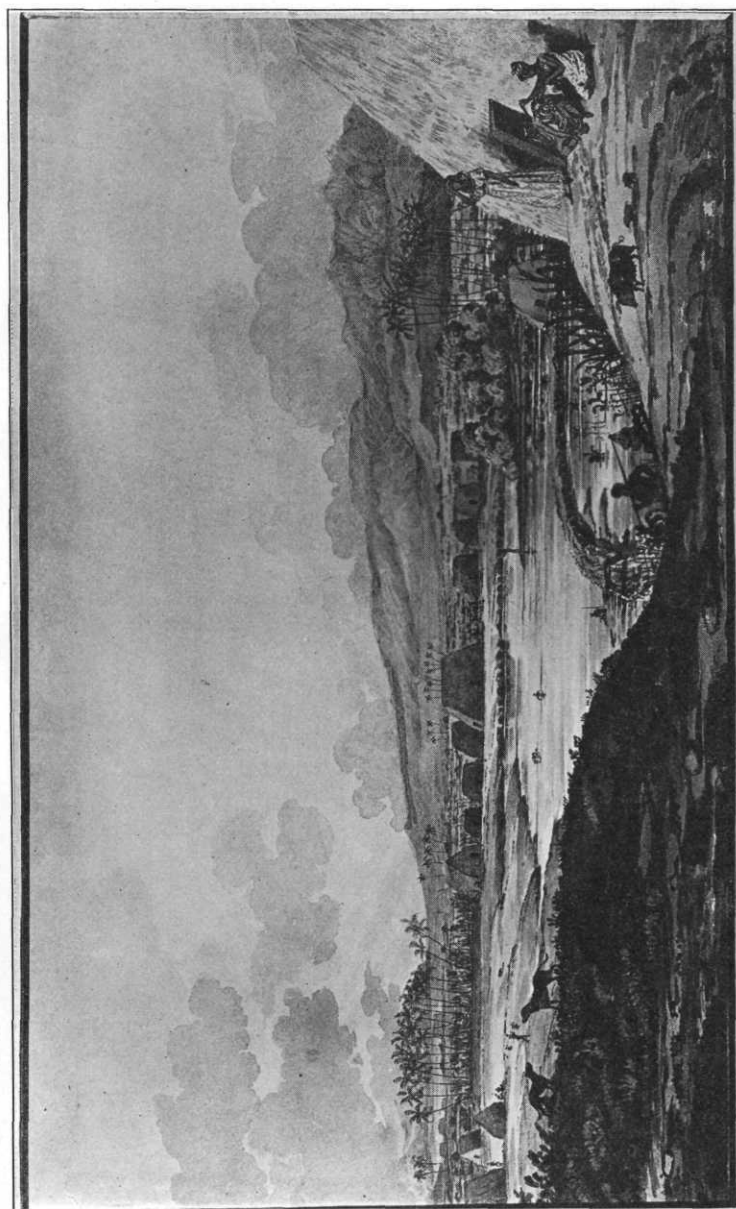
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1922

WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL
MEETING, JANUARY 25, 1923



HONOLULU:
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC PRESS
1923



Drawn by R. Beechey. After

View of the Town of Honolulu.

Sandwich Islands, 1826.

H.M.S. Blossom.

EARLY VIEW OF HONOLULU BY R. BEECHEY
FROM THE ORIGINAL WATER COLOUR IN THE POSSESSION OF
STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Minutes of the Annual Meeting

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at its rooms in the Library of Hawaii, Thursday, January 25th, 1923.

First Vice President J. S. Emerson presiding.

Reports were read from the President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Librarian.

The Nominating Committee presented a list of nominees to hold office for the year 1923, all of whom were duly elected.

The Membership Committee reported a number of applicants for membership, all of whom were duly elected.

The following papers were read, provoking interesting discussion:

The First Discovery of Honolulu Harbor.....	Bruce Cartwright
The Identity of the Oregon Mission Press....	Howard M. Ballou
The Passing of Kamehameha.....	W. D. Westervelt

These papers were ordered printed with the officers' reports in the annual report.

EDGAR HENRIQUES,

Recording Secretary.

Corresponding Secretary's Report

We welcome the good work done by our fellow-member, W. F. Wilson, in preserving in his good way the story of Lord Byron's visit to the "Sandwich Islands."

Mr. Kuykendall is giving thorough and patient study in his collaboration with Dr. Gregory in Hawaiian history. To both of these gentlemen we are giving our appreciation for needed reopening of the history of the old days in Hawaii.

Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, a charter member of the Oregon Historical Society and also an honorary member of our own Society, has almost completed a new historical novel based on the island life fifty or sixty years ago.

We welcome Padraic Colum and assure him that we hope he will have many fairy tales in the future as the result of his studies here.

Mr. A. P. Taylor, our fellow-member, has published a book of valuable research, entitled "Under Hawaiian Skies."

We thank our Salem, Mass. member, Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, for the two excellent early views of Honolulu which he has had printed and has donated for our annual report.

Many others have come and gone during the past year crowned with leis because of their short stories, poems and even books. If they wish to be permanently remembered they must place their writings in our archives for our future historians to study.

W. D. WESTERVELT,
Corresponding Secretary.

Report of the Librarian

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

During the year I have tried to bring the work in the library up-to-date by accessioning and cataloging the material which had accumulated. Many of the accessions were bound reports and periodicals, others exchanges and gifts, and the balance books acquired by purchase. In all 111 volumes and 50 pamphlets have been added to the catalog.

Among many interesting items I would note the following:

"All about Hawaii," by Daniel Logan.

"Fruits of the Hawaiian Islands," by G. P. Wilder.

"Hawaii and its volcanoes," by C. H. Hitchcock.

"Hawaii, past and present," by W. R. Castle, Jr.

"Indigenous trees of the Hawaiian Islands," by J. F. C. Rock.

"Life on the ocean: autobiography of Captain C. W. Gett." by H. H. Gowen.

"The Napoleon of the Pacific: Kamehameha the Great,"

by H. H. Gowen.

"Old time Hawaiians and their work," by M. S. Lawrence.

"The Pilgrims of Hawaii," by Rev. O. H. & Mrs. A. E. Gulick.

"The Princess of Manoa," by Mrs. F. R. Day.

"Under Hawaiian skies," by A. P. Taylor.

"Thrum's Annual for 1923."

"Some Recollections, 1847-1873," by Captain Charles Porter Low, a book which I secured on the mainland last summer, tells of several visits to Honolulu, on the way to and from the Orient. One incident bears indirectly on the history of Hawaii. In 1853, Captain Low stopped at Batavia, Java, for repairs to his ship, the "N. B. Palmer." Appealed to by the American Consul at that port, he helped rescue Walter Murray Gibson from a Dutch prison, landing him safely in New York.

In addition to various reports and exchanges we are indebted for a number of gifts:

From the University of California, "Papers of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851." From New Zealand, "The Official Yearbook, 1921-22."

The Oregon Historical Society has sent us two of their quarterly publications, containing "The History of the Oregon Mission Press," by Professor H. M. Ballou; and the Massachusetts Historical Society a volume of Proceedings, containing "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823."

Two publications have come from the Smithsonian Institution, one the Thirty-third Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in which is included in Hawaiian and English text, the "Legend of Laieikawai," by S. N. Haleole, translated and annotated by Martha Warren Beckwith; the other a Bulletin of Archeological Investigations, with a well illustrated chapter devoted to Hawaii.

By request, the Union Theological Seminary in New York sent the Bulletin, "A Winter in Hawaii," by Professor G. A. Johnston Ross, who spent five months in the Islands, and gives his viewpoint of the religious work done here.

From the Estate of Dr. Titus Munson Coan in New York, has come a manuscript: "Titus Coan's Hilo Shipping List, January 1844 to September 7, 1882."

Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, B. C., sent a reprint of "The John Boit Log and Captain Gray's Log of the Columbia," annotated by himself, asking in return one of our reprints.

"With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825: being extracts from the ms. Diary of James Macrae, Scottish Botanist," is a gift from the editor, Mr. F. W. Wilson of this city.

Mr. E. Herrick Brown has presented the library with an album of the class of 1867, Williams College, which contains photographs of Judge Sanford B. Dole and the late Mr. William E. Rowell.

A photograph of the first law printed in Hawaii, a broadside printed in 1822, from Professor H. M. Ballou and a file of the

"Yearbooks of Kawaiahae Church," from Mrs. M. T. Wilcox are valuable additions.

The Bishop Museum has been most generous in sending all their publications as soon as printed.

"Educational and Race Problems in Hawaii," a separate from the Review of Reviews, is a gift from the author, Mr. Riley H. Allen, and I would mention also receipt of the Report of the Governor of this Territory, which contains in addition to the reports of the various departments of the government, an appendix giving all the laws relating to Hawaii passed by the 67th Congress.

One very unique gift from Mr. J. C. Scarle should be noted—a shell which was used to call the people to school on the Island of Hawaii, in the early days. This has been placed in one of the display cases.

A new interest in the romantic history of our country has arisen, and with it has come an increasing demand for research work. The Hawaiian Historical Commission is now using the library in compiling a new History of Hawaii, and requests for information come from far and near. Miss Allyn has kindly assisted me in the correspondence.

The bound newspapers have all been listed, and the duplicates stored in the basement of this building, awaiting disposal. Pamphlets, old letters and manuscripts remain to be sorted and arranged. Many of the old books are sadly in need of new bindings, and files of reports and periodicals which have accumulated should be bound. Several hundred dollars spent in binding would put the books in good shape.

The Society has a great many duplicates, which take up much needed shelf room. In time, I shall try to list them, and hope they can be disposed of to advantage.

I am now working on a catalog of the bound books in the library, which the Board of Managers wish to have printed.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,

Librarian.

Report of the Treasurer

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, 1921 Account.....	\$	698.44	
Membership dues		354.00	
Sales of Publications.....		2.00	
Coupons on \$2,000 McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds		100.00	
Refund from G. E. Stechart & Co., N.Y.		.50	\$1,154.94
			<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing	\$	252.75	
Stamps		13.40	
Purchase of books, pamphlets, etc.....		49.08	
Binding		2.50	
Library of Hawaii		250.00	
Cash on hand.....		587.21	\$1,154.94
E. & O. E.			<hr/>

ASSETS

Cash on deposit with Bank of Bishop & Co.	\$	587.21	
\$2,000.00 5% McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds (now in safe keeping with the Bank of Bishop & Co., Ltd.).....		2,000.00	\$2,587.21

Respectfully submitted,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer.*

Honolulu, T. H., Jan. 23, 1923.

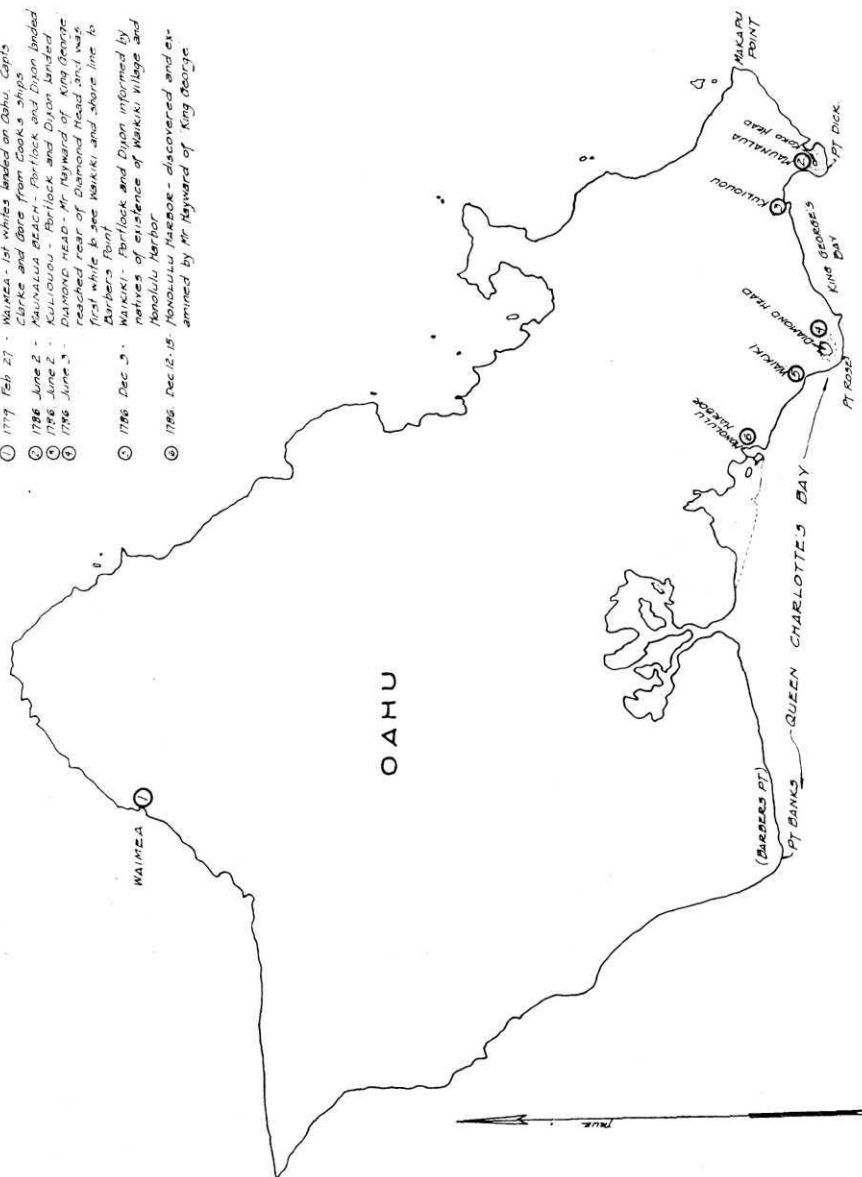
I have examined the above account, and checked the vouchers covering expenses, and finding same correct in every detail, hereby approve same.

L. C. BUCHANAN,

Bookkeeper for Cartwright & Co.

KNOWN POINTS ON OAHU UP TO 1787

- ① 1779 Feb 27 - Waimānā - 1st whites landed on Oahu, Capt's Clarke and bore from Cook's ships
- ② 1786 June 2 - Maunaloa Beach - Forlock and Dixon landed
- ③ 1786 June 2 - Kuliouou - Forlock and Dixon landed
- ④ 1786 June 3 - Diamond Head - Mr Hayward of King George reached rear of Diamond Head and with first white sailors stepped Waikiki and shore line to Waikiki
- ⑤ 1786 Dec 3 - Forlock and Dixon informed by natives of existence of Waikiki Village and Honolulu Harbor
- ⑥ 1786 Dec 12-15 - Honolulu Harbor - discovered and examined by Mr Hayward of King George



The First Discovery of Honolulu Harbor

BY BRUCE CARTWRIGHT.

DISCOVERY OF OAHU:

The Hawaiian Islands were discovered by Captain James Cook while on a voyage of discovery from Tahiti to the Northwest Coast of America in search of the Northwest Passage to the Atlantic.

Early on Sunday morning, January 18, 1778, he sighted the island of Oahu, bearing northeast by east. Soon afterwards he sighted Kauai and proceeded there. After a short visit at Kauai and Niihau he continued on his voyage to the Northwest Coast of America.

Early in 1779 he returned from the Northwest Coast of America and discovered the island of Maui, and soon afterwards the island of Hawaii. After sailing along the Kohala, Hamakua, Hilo, Puna, Kau and Kona coasts he came to anchor in Kealahakua Bay. He was killed there on February 14, 1779.

FIRST WHITE MEN TO LAND ON OAHU:

After Cook's death his vessels, the *Resolution* under Captain Clerke and the *Discovery* under Captain Gore, sailed along the southern side of Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai and Molokai and crossing the Molokai Channel sailed along the windward shore of Oahu. They anchored off Waimea, Oahu, and Captains Clerke and Gore, together with Mr. King, landed there on February 27, 1779. They were the first white men to land on Oahu. The same day they sailed for Kauai. After a short stay there and at Niihau they proceeded on their voyage.

The first visitors to the islands after the departure of Cook's vessels, were La Perouse, the Frenchman, who touched at Maui for one day, and the British ships *King George*, under Captain Nathaniel Portlock, and the *Queen Charlotte*, under Captain George Dixon. After visiting Hawaii they sailed down the group and on May 31, 1786, they arrived off Oahu, between Makapuu Point and Koko Head.

KING GEORGE'S BAY:

On June 1, 1786, they came to anchor in Waialae Bay. On the same day Captain Portlock named the bay between Koko Head and Diamond Head "King George's Bay." He named Koko Head "Point Dick" in honor of Sir John Dick, the first patron of the voyage, and Diamond Head he named "Point Rose" after George Rose, Esq., Secretary of the British Treasury and second patron of the voyage.

SECOND LANDING ON OAHU BY WHITES:

On June 2, 1786, Portlock and Dixon landed at Moanalua Beach, north of Koko Head, in search of water, and were directed by the natives to a spring in the direction of Kulionou Valley. They were unable to secure water here because of its distance from the boats, which could not approach the shore on account of the shallow water. Under date of Saturday, June 3, 1786, Captain Portlock says:

Early in the morning of the 3rd I dispatched Mr. Hayward and Mr. White in a boat from each ship to examine the West part of the bay for a landing-place and fresh water. They likewise had orders to land, and make an excursion to that part of the island round Point Rose [Diamond Head], as there appeared from the ship to be a fine deep bay in that situation. . . . In the afternoon . . . Mr. Hayward reported that he had landed in the West part of the bay, where he found a pond of standing water; but it was very inconveniently situated and could not be got at without difficulty. He afterwards walked up to a rising ground, from which he could perceive the land round the West point [Diamond Head] of King George's Bay to fall in and form a fine deep bay running well to the Northward, and the Westmost land stretching out to the Southward [Barber's Point]: this however by no means induced me to change our situation.¹

SHORE LINE BETWEEN DIAMOND HEAD AND BARBER'S POINT
FIRST SEEN:

Mr. Hayward and Mr. White, therefore were the first white

¹ Nathaniel Portlock, *A Voyage Round the World . . . in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788* (London, 1789), 72-74.

men to see the shore line and intervening country between Diamond Head and Barber's Point.

The vessels were finally supplied with fresh water, by the natives bringing off the water in calabashes. They then weighed anchor on June 5, 1786, for Niihau. They passed around Diamond Head and Portlock says:

As we approached Point Rose [Diamond Head], a vast number of double canoes joined us, which came out of that bay to the Westward, seen by Mr. Hayward, and which obtained the name of Queen Charlotte's Bay. An excellent bay it appears to be, stretching well both to the Northward and Southward. The Southern extreme [Barber's Point] forms itself into a flattish point, which I distinguished by the name of Point Banks, in honour of Sir Joseph Banks. Point Banks bears West by North from Point Rose, distant about twelve miles.²

DISCOVERY OF HONOLULU HARBOR:

Portlock and Dixon returned to the islands in the fall and arrived off Oahu on November 30, 1786, anchoring again in Waialae Bay, called by them "King George's Bay." On December 3, 1786, "Towanoocha," one of the attendants and awa-chewers of the High Priest of King Kahekili, gave Portlock the information

that to the Westward of Point Rose, in Queen Charlotte's Bay, *there was an exceedingly snug harbour, where the ships might lie with safety.* As we had a heavy swell setting into the bay round Point Dick [Koko Head], which caused the ship to roll very much, I determined, as soon as the carpenter had finished the long-boat, to send her down to examine it; and if it was found to be a safe situation, to remove the ships thither. The district near which the harbour lies is (as I understood) called by the natives Whyteetee [Waikiki]; and the yava-chewer, whose name is Towanoocha, and who I found was a man of considerable property on the island, offered to go in the boat when she was ready, and direct them to the place; which offer I readily accepted.³

Under date of Tuesday, Dec. 12, 1786, Portlock writes:

² *Ibid.*, 75.

³ *Ibid.*, 157-158. The italics are not in the original.

By this time the long-boat was completed, and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 12th, the weather being moderate, I sent her under the direction of Mr. Hayward to Queen Charlotte's Bay, to look at the harbour so much spoken of by the natives, and Towanooha the yava-chewer, accompanied him as a pilot.⁴

They were gone three days, as is shown by the following entry, under date of Friday, Dec. 15:

At eight o'clock the long-boat came along-side, and Mr. Hayward informed me, that on going down to the place where his guide conducted him in Queen Charlotte's Bay, *he found a small bay with very deep water, close to a sandy beach, where the natives generally landed with their canoes, but no place for a ship to ride in with safety;* adjoining to the beach, in a beautiful valley, surrounded by fine groves of cocoanut-trees and a delightful country, there was a large town, where (as Towanooha informed him) the king generally resided, and the district round it was called Whyteetee [Waikiki]. According to Mr. Hayward's account, there were very few canoes in the bay; neither did he see any great number of inhabitants; so that we may reasonably suppose they were come into the bay where we lay, led either by business or curiosity.⁵

The above would indicate that "Towanooha" had taken Mr. Hayward into Honolulu Harbor.

He told Portlock that "there were very few canoes in the bay; neither did he see any great number of inhabitants." He was looking for fresh water and supplies and as there was no village in Honolulu Harbor at this time it probably seemed to Hayward that a better place for the ships to anchor would be off the village of Waikiki.

Mr. Hayward's statement to Portlock that "he found a small bay with very deep water, close to a sandy beach," would not describe any of the entrances through the reef from Diamond Head to Barber's Point, except Honolulu Harbor. Kapua entrance was not described, for it has no deep water close to a sandy beach. The bay off Makee's Island and the entrance in

⁴ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 164. The italics are not in the original.

front of the Moana Hotel may be disregarded for the same reason. Kalihi Harbor and Pearl Harbor were not described as they do not lie near the village of Waikiki. But the description fits Honolulu Harbor exactly.

The clause "where the natives generally landed with their canoes, but no place for a ship to ride in with safety" needs explanation. Natives for hundreds of years had used Honolulu Harbor and drawn their canoes up on its sandy beaches, but a large ship could not enter the harbor except by "warping" on account of the narrow entrance.

We must give the credit of discovering Honolulu Harbor to Mr. Hayward of the King George. He was the first white man to see and enter it, having been piloted there by "Towa-nooha," the awa-chewer, in December, 1786.

Interesting confirmation of this account is obtained from the description of the reconnaissance by the author of Dixon's Voyage, writing from the Queen Charlotte, the consort of Capt. Portlock's ship.

He states that

now, having sufficient leisure, on the 13th Captain Portlock sent his long boat, (which had been decked, and schooner-rigged, since we came to Whahoo) with Mr. Hayward, his Third Mate, accompanied by our Third Mate, Mr. White, to survey the bay accurately.

Mr. Hayward returned in the morning of the 15th, and reported, that there was no convenient anchorage in any part of the bay; and that there was from sixty-six to seventy fathom water close in shore. We now learnt, that Teereteere generally resided in this bay, which is called by the natives Whitette [Waikiki] Bay.^{5a}

HONOLULU HARBOR GENERALLY KNOWN BY 1791-2:

Honolulu Harbor was known to some Pacific traders as early as the fall of 1791 or the spring of 1792. In 1792 Captain George Vancouver was told of a harbor in this locality by traders on the Northwest Coast of America. Archibald Menzies was on the *Discovery* with Vancouver. In his journal he wrote the following while off Waikiki:

^{5a}A Voyage round the world. By Captain George Dixon. 2nd ed. London: 1789. 101, 102.

March 23rd [1793]. Early in the forenoon of the 23d. we got under way, but the wind being westerly, we made but very little progress against it. In the evening observing *an apparent inlet in the western side of the bay, we came to an anchor before the entrance to it, and being informed while on the North-west Coast of America by the masters of some of the trading vessels that a small snug harbor was situated in this side of the bay,* boats were sent out early next morning, [March 24, 1793] to examine the passage in, but they found it so guarded by a reef a little distance from the shore that there was no access even for vessels of small draught of water.⁶

They were off Pearl Harbor, as the following extract from Vancouver's *Voyage*, clearly shows:

With a pleasant breeze from the westward, on Sunday morning the 24th, we plied to the windward, along the south side of Woahoo, until the afternoon, when we anchored abreast the westernmost opening or lagoon, mentioned in our former visit to this island, called by the natives *O-poo-ro-ah* [Puuloa], and which had since been reported to us, by the natives, as capable of admitting vessels by warping into it.⁷

PEARL HARBOR FIRST ENTERED:

The next morning boats entered the channel and discovered that a sand bar lay across the entrance. They explored the channel about one and a half miles. After describing this Vancouver says:

The other opening to the eastward, called by the natives *Honoonoono*, *Tomohomoho* represented as being

⁶ Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago* (edited by W. F. Wilson, Honolulu, 1920), 125-126. The italics are not in the original. Mr. Wilson says in a foot-note, p. 126, that this was "the harbor of Kou, now known as Honolulu." Menzies goes on to say that "the appearance of another opening was seen a little to the northward of this one, whose entrance might perhaps be more favorable, but the boats had not time to examine it," and Mr. Wilson says in a foot-note on the same page that this "opening" was "Wai Momi, or Pearl Harbor." This however does not seem to agree with Vancouver's statement. It will be observed that Menzies' chronology at this point differs from Vancouver's chronology by one day, and this may have some bearing on the apparent conflict in the two accounts.

⁷ George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery . . . in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795* (London, 1801). III, 360-361.

much more shallow, and a smaller place; this induced me to pass it without examination: but to shew how liable we are to be mistaken in such inquiries amongst the natives, I was afterwards informed, by Mr. Brown of the *Butterworth* that although it is smaller and of less depth of water, yet it admits of a passage from the sea five fathoms deep between the reefs; and opens beyond them into a small but commodious bason, with regular soundings from seven to three fathoms, clear and good bottom, where a few vessels may ride with the greatest safety; but the only means of getting in or out is by warping.^s

HONO-O-NO-O-NO:

In 1793 the natives called the harbor "Hono-o-no-o-no." Andrews' Dictionary gives among other meanings, the following for the words "Hono" and "O-no-o-no":

- "Hono," 2. The back of the neck.
- 4. The name of a place where the wind meets some obstruction and is reflected back.
- "O-no-o-no," an adjective meaning palatable; hence pleasant; comfortable.

I have been informed by Hawaiians that the words "Hono-O-no-ono" when applied to a cove or bay mean a sheltered cove or a place where canoes could ride in comfort, not being disturbed by wind or wave.

In looking over Vancouver's spelling of Hawaiian words, I am impressed by the nearness he got to the modern Hawaiian pronunciation. Take the word "O-poo-ro-ah." Leaving off the "O" which was more or less of an expression of understanding among ancient Hawaiians, we have "poo," the double "o" being pronounced in English as "u" the single "o" as "o" and we have "Pu-ro-ah," very close to "Puuloa." Another illustration is the word "Tomohomoho." The "T" was commonly used instead of the modern "K." "Tomohomoho" is therefore practically "Komohomoho" or "Kamohomoho," the name of Kalanikupule's uncle. There are many other examples that I will not take the time to mention. The object of going into this question of pronunciation is to show that "Hono-o-no-o-no"

^s *Ibid.*, 363-364.

was probably the correct way to spell the name that Vancouver heard the natives call Honolulu Harbor, and taking into consideration the meaning of the word "Hono-o-no-o-no," it is a name that perfectly fits the physical conditions prevailing. A good English translation of "Hono-o-no-o-no" would be "Fair Haven" for Honolulu Harbor is a "comfortable sheltered cove" or fair haven.

CAPTAIN BROWN OF THE BUTTERWORTH:

Professor Alexander, the historian, gave Captain Brown of the British ship *Butterworth* the honor of being the discoverer of Honolulu Harbor. He says:

Captain Brown in the schooner "Jackal," accompanied by Captain Gordon in the sloop "Prince Lee Boo," entered the harbor of Honolulu, (which he had discovered and named "Fair Haven"), November 21st, 1794. There Captain Kendrick joined him in the sloop "Lady Washington."⁹

How long Captain Brown had been in the Hawaiian Islands or when he first visited them, is not known to me. On February 16, 1793, Vancouver was informed that the *Jackal* trader, under the orders of Mr. Brown of the *Butterworth*, was off Kawaihae, Hawaii, where Vancouver then lay.¹⁰

We know that Mr. Brown was on the Northwest Coast of America in 1792 commanding three vessels, the *Butterworth*, the *Jackal*, under Captain Stewart, who deserted in the islands in 1793 on account of ill treatment and took up his residence on shore, and the *Prince Lee Boo*, under Captain Sharp.¹¹ In 1793 the vessels were at the islands.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1791-1793:¹²

In 1791, Kahekili, King of Oahu, Molokai and Maui, was on Maui with his brother Kaeo-ku-lani, King of Kauai, preparing to resist the threatened invasion of Maui by Kamehameha of Hawaii.

⁹ W. D. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, 141.

¹⁰ Vancouver, *op. cit.*, III, 197-198. That Brown in the *Butterworth* was at the islands in February, 1793, is shown conclusively by statements in Menzies, *op. cit.*, 72, and *New Vancouver Log* (MS), 99 (March 14, 1793).

¹¹ Vancouver, *op. cit.*, VI, 399.

¹² My account of the political situation and events during 1791-1795, except as otherwise indicated, is based on Fornander.

Kahekili agreed with Kaeo-ku-lani that after his death Kaeo-ku-lani was to be regent of Maui and Molokai while Kalanikupule, the son and heir of Kahekili, was to be King of Maui, Molokai, and Oahu, but was to reside on Oahu and allow Kaeo-ku-lani to govern Maui and Molokai for him. This arrangement was entered into because of the assistance Kaeo-ku-lani was rendering Kahekili in his wars against Hawaii and also because of the feeble health of Kalanikupule.

During the winter of 1791, the whole of 1792, and a part of 1793, Kahekili and Kaeo-ku-lani remained on Maui.

In the summer of 1793 word reached Maui that there was a revolt on Kauai against the authority of Kaeo-ku-lani, who had become Moi of Kauai through his marriage. In the fall of that year the *Butterworth* under Captain Brown was off Maui. Kahekili persuaded Captain Brown to take him to Kauai. Shortly after their arrival there Kahekili established peace and named Inamoo as Governor of Kauai and guardian of Kaumualii, the young prince, until the return of Kaeo-ku-lani. Kahekili then proceeded to Oahu with Captain Brown. Shortly after this the *Butterworth* returned to England, and Captain Brown remained at Oahu. According to Boit:

In February 1794, Capt. Brown, anchor'd in Fair-haven harbour, Isle of Whoahoo, with two Sloops, the largest [*Jackall*] comand'd by himself & the other [*Prince Lee Boo*] by a Capt. Gordon, & that he proceeded to alter one Vessell into a Ship, & the small one into a Cutter for to make them handier for cruizing the N. W. Coast, in which trade he meant to embark.¹³

Boit received this intelligence at Hawaii in 1795 from John Young.

After re-rigging the *Jackal* and the *Prince Lee Boo*, Captain Brown returned to the Northwest Coast where he spent the summer in the fur trade. He returned to the Islands in the fall, arriving at Oahu probably in October, 1794.

In July, 1794, King Kahekili died at Ulukou, Waikiki, over eighty years of age. Kalanikupule succeeded him as King of Oahu, Molokai, and Maui, subject to the agreement between

¹³ John Boit, *Journal of a Voyage Round the Globe* (MS), entry for October 16, 1795.

Kahekili and Kaeo-ku-lani made on Maui in 1791, which made Kaeo-ku-lani regent of Maui and Molokai.

In September, 1794, Kaeo-ku-lani, who was residing on Maui heard that a new revolt was in progress on Kauai, so he decided to proceed there without delay. He embarked with his warriors, leaving his brother Koalaukane as regent of Maui and Molokai. He first stopped at Molokai to gather tribute and supplies and then proceeded to Oahu.

BATTLE OFF WAIMANALO AND KAILUA:

Kalanikupule heard that Kaeo-ku-lani was approaching Oahu with an armed force. Regardless of the fact that Kaeo-ku-lani was his uncle and was on very friendly terms with him, Kalanikupule, acting under bad advice and also being extremely jealous of the powers conferred upon his uncle by Kahekili, gathered his forces and sent half of them to Waimanalo to resist any attempt that Kaeo-ku-lani might make to land on the shores of Oahu, while he remained at Waikiki with the remainder of his army.

Kaeo-ku-lani crossed the Molokai Channel and attempted to land at Kukui in Waimanalo, not aware of the hostile reception that awaited him. He was immediately attacked by the Oahu warriors. Re-embarking he sailed along the shore firing upon the Oahu warriors. "Mare Amara," a white man, handled the "3 pounder," that was mounted on one of Kaeo-ku-lani's double-canoes, with good effect, killing the commander of the Oahu forces at a brook called "Muliwai o Iena."

Word reached Kalanikupule that Kaeo-ku-lani had arrived and that a running battle was in progress, so he came over the Pali from Waikiki with his warriors to reinforce those already engaged. An armistice was soon arranged and friendly relations were established. Kaeo-ku-lani and his army were allowed to land and refresh themselves.

After this had been done Kaeo-ku-lani re-embarked for Kauai, but landed at Waialua and Waianae for rest and refreshments.

KAEO-KU-LANI DECIDES TO ATTACK KALANIKUPULE:

At Waianae, Kaeo-ku-lani learned of a conspiracy among his followers to assassinate him unless he immediately attacked Kalanikupule. Many of his warriors were smarting

from the unwarranted punishment they had received at Wai-manalo from the Oahu forces and desired revenge. Realizing that all he could do was to yield to their wishes, Kaeo-ku-lani held a council at which it was decided to immediately proceed to Waikiki and attack Kalanikupule. At this meeting Kaeo-ku-lani uttered the famous words, "It is better to die in battle; many will be the companions in death." Waialua and Waianae warriors flocked to his standard and the march to Waikiki began.

Kalanikupule heard of the decision of Kaeo-ku-lani and of the treachery of his Waialua and Waianae chiefs in joining him, so he gathered his forces to resist the attack.

OAHU CEDED TO CAPTAIN BROWN:

On February 21, 1794, Kamehameha of Hawaii had agreed with Captain George Vancouver that the island of Hawaii should be considered a British protectorate, on condition that Great Britain should help him resist the attacks of his enemies. This news spread through the group and now when he was threatened by a dangerous foe, Kalanikupule, evidently having the same idea of making his possession a British protectorate for defensive purposes, went to Captain Brown, an Englishman who had just returned from the Northwest Coast of America, and was in Honolulu Harbor with the British vessels *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo*, and made a similar proposition to him.

John Young told Boit in 1795, that

The Chiefs of Whoahoo, made him [Captain Brown] a formal present of the Island with all its contents, of which he [Captain Brown] accordingly took possession.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Ibid.* But the author of the *New Vancouver Log. loc. cit.*, says the natives of Maui "inform'd us that Mr. Brown in the Buttersworth, who had left the Isld. only a fortnight before we arrived [Brown's departure therefore being in the latter part of February, 1793] had given them a number of Muskets, a very large quantity of Powder, and two pieces of Cannon (4 pounders)—for these last Titeeree [Kahekili] had given to him the whole right & property of the Islands Woahoo & Atooi, entitling him to take off them, at his own will every thing he stood in need of, and this strange as it may appear we afterwards found to be true, but these people have a great deal of Cunning, they know that the Ships will only touch at their Islands about a couple of months in a year, and that all they can want would be trifling to them, and for the same price or less they would sell the same Islands over again to every Ship that stops among them." And from Menzies, *op. cit.*, 72, it appears that Brown also sold a quantity of muskets to Kamehameha.

There was no apparent reason for the Oahu chiefs to do this unless as a means of defense against Kaeo-ku-lani.

BATTLE OF PUNAHAWALE:

The Oahu warriors accompanied by Captain Brown and some of his British sailors marched against Kaeo-ku-lani. They met at Punahawale in Ewa, in November, 1794. The Oahu forces were defeated and several of the British sailors were killed. Kalanikupule retreated towards Waikiki followed by Kaeo-ku-lani, who met with feeble resistance.

BATTLE OF KALAUAO OR "KE KII AHU"

John Young told Boit

that on the 3d. of Decr. [1794] Capt. John Kendrick in the *Snow Lady* Washington of Boston arrived at Fairhaven [which was the name under which Honolulu Harbor was known at that time] & met with a very freindly reception by Capt. Brown, & on the 6th. of ye same month in consequence of a long quarrel between the Chiefs of Whahooa & Atooi, (an Island to leeward) a battle was fought & was gain'd by the King of Whahooa, by the assistance of Capt. Kendrick.¹⁵

This battle was the second one between Kalanikupule and Kaeo-ku-lani that was fought in Ewa District, and is known as "The Battle of Kalauao." Fornander, who received most of his information from Hawaiian sources, states that Kalanikupule gathered his forces between Kalauao and Aiea. His brother Koalaukane occupied the main road with the right wing. Kamohomoho, his uncle, occupied the beach at Malei with the left wing, while Kalanikupule with his chiefs occupied the center. The American sailors under Captain Kendrick, with their armed boats, stood off the shore.

The battle was fought on December 6, 1794. The furious attack of Koalaukane descending from the upland broke the main column of Kaeo-ku-lani. Kaeo-ku-lani personally won great renown by his many deeds of valor but was finally forced to hide in a small ravine near the shore at Aiea, with six companions. His "ahuula" (a cloak of red and yellow feathers) betrayed his presence and rank to the sailors off shore who directed their fire on him, while his pursuers attacked him from

¹⁵ Boit, *loc. cit.*

above. He was thus killed fighting fiercely against overpowering odds. The Hawaiians call this battle "Ku kii ahū." Strange to relate, no white men were killed in this battle although "Mare Amara," with his "3 pounder" could easily have fired into the armed boats off shore. Perhaps he was an American and would not fire on his countrymen. Some historians claim that Captain Brown with his British sailors participated in this battle, but the following information given by John Young, an Englishman, to Boit, an American, would indicate that the British were not present:

A battle was fought & was gained by the King of Whahooa, by the assistance of Capt. Kendrick. Who immediately inform'd Capt. Brown, that on the morrow [Dec. 7, 1794] he should cause the Flag (the Flag) of the United States to be hoisted, & fire a federal salute, which he beg'd might be answered by the two Englishmen [the *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo*] & it was accordingly agreed too, & Capt. Brown order'd three guns to be unshotted for that purpose & about ten next morning [Dec. 7, 1794], the Ship *Jack* hall began to salute, but on coming to the 3d Gun it was discover'd not to be prim'd So ye Apron of ye 4th, Gun was taken of, which was fir'd, & being shoted with round & Grape Shot, it peirced the Side of ye Lady Washn. & kill'd Capt. Kendrick as he sat at his table, & kill'd & wound'd many upon deck, & that shortly after the Snow [*Lady Washington*] put to sea bound to Canton under the command of Mr. Howell.¹⁶

Sheldon Dibble, after telling of Kao-ku-lani's arrival at Oahu and his determination to attack Kalanikupule says:

At this time there were three vessels in the port of Honolulu, the first that ever entered that harbor. Two of these, a ship called the *Jackall* and a tender called the *Prince le Boo* were English vessels engaged in the trade of the N. W. coast. *Prince le Boo* was the first vessel of any nation that entered Honolulu harbor. Captain Brown spent a considerable time at Honolulu, repairing and remodeling one of his vessels and became quite familiar with the chiefs and people. The other vessel was an American sloop of 90 tons which sailed from Boston

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

in company with the *Columbia* in 1787, called the *Lady Washington*, and commanded by John Kendrick, the first vessel, it is said, that engaged in the trade of carrying sandal wood from the Sandwich Islands to China.

Captain Brown interested himself in the war, but, Captain Kendrick took no part in it.

The first engagement was at Punahawale, where, victory leaned to the side of Kaeo and several foreigners who aided Kalanikupule were slain. The next engagement was at Kalanauo in which, it is said, that Captain Brown with his men rendered efficient aid to Kalanikupule. In this engagement Kalanikupule was victorious and Kaeo was slain.

On the return of the party to Honolulu, Captain Brown fired a salute in honor of Kalanikupule's victory. The American sloop was at anchor, only a few yards distant, and Captain Kendrick was at dinner in the cabin. A wad, as is supposed, from one of the guns, passed into the cabin, struck him in the head and killed him instantly.¹⁷

Dibble now makes a very important statement. He says:

There was an investigation in the case held by foreigners on board one of the vessels, and the decision was that the occurrence was a casualty.¹⁸

It is interesting to note that the killing of Captain Kendrick, the American, by accident as claimed, was questioned at the time by "foreigners on board one of the vessels." Which vessel it was I am unable to learn. Possibly it was the *Lady Washington*.

That the question of the murdering of Captains Brown and Gordon, which followed shortly after Kendrick's death, was of great interest, and became almost an international question, is shown by the following quotation from Broughton, an Englishman, who anchored off "Fair Haven" from February 11 to February 14, 1796, in H. B. M. sloop *Providence* for the purpose of making a sketch of the harbor. He says:

It was discovered by a Mr. Brown, commander of the merchant ship *Buttersworth*, in 1794. On the 1st of January 1795, he laid at anchor in this harbour,

¹⁷ Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, (1843), 68.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

with the merchant vessels, named the Jackall and Prince Lee Boo, which were under his direction: The Buttersworth had been previously sent home. [Then follows an account of the tragedy, after which he says:] Many reasons have been given for this unhappy event; but the principals concerned in the deed having since lost their lives, there is no ascertaining the truth of it."¹⁹

John Young told Boit

that shortly after [referring to the death of Captain Kendrick] the Snow [*Lady Washington*] put to sea bound to Canton under the command of Mr. Howell.²⁰

Howell was an Englishman who had received a university training for the clergy. Captain Kendrick had engaged him as clerk in China. He afterwards returned to the islands and settled on Hawaii where he was known as "Padre Howell," being the first clergyman to reside in the islands.

How it happened that Howell, an Englishman, was placed in command of the American snow *Lady Washington* when it seems that a son of Captain Kendrick and other Americans were on board capable of handling her, is explained in the following quotation:

Captain Kendrick purchased the Washington of the owners, altered her into a brig, and returned to the Sandwich Islands, where he was engaged in a sandalwood speculation. . . . When dying, he called his mate into the cabin and put him in charge of the vessel with instructions to proceed direct to the United States. The vessel left the islands, but was never heard from afterwards.²¹

Dibble continues:

The corpse of Captain Kendrick was brought on shore to be buried. *The prayer and burial service were the first from foreigners that the Hawaiians ever witnessed!* They considered the service, according to their heathen notions of prayer, and from the circumstances

¹⁹ William Robert Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798* (London, 1804), 39-40.

²⁰ Boit, *loc. cit.*

²¹ *Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest* (MS in Bancroft Collection).

of the case, to be an act of sorcery to procure the death of Captain Brown.²²

This statement is very interesting. It is unfortunate that we do not know the "circumstances of the case," for they were such that even the Hawaiians believed that the Americans had good ground for blaming the British under Captain Brown for Captain Kendrick's death. They believed that the Americans were adopting the Hawaiian custom of praying their enemies to death.

Dibble states that

On board the *Lady Washington* was a son of Captain Kendrick. He gave charge to Kalanikupule, "Take good care of the grave of my father; if it shall be disturbed it will be at your peril. Notwithstanding this threat, the corpse was disinterred in the night. The only motive alleged, which to them was no inconsiderable one, was to obtain the winding sheet."²³

Captain John Kendrick was a fine, honorable, brave, American gentleman, the first American to sail his own ship into the Pacific. His remains lie hidden and forgotten near our waterfront. There should be a monument erected to his memory, for he put Hawaii on the map commercially by being the first to embark in the sandal-wood trade. His name should be perpetuated in the name of a park or avenue in Honolulu.

Captain Kendrick was killed on December 7, 1794. John Young told Boit

that in a few weeks after this unfortunate affair happen'd the Cheifs of Whoohoa order'd a great quantity of Hogs & Vegetables to be brought to ye landing place as a present to Capt. Brown & sent word on board the *Jack'all* for the Captain to send the boats for the above present, He having always liv'd in the strictest freindship with the Natives & considering the Island as his own, & not at all suspicious of their intentions, Very imprudently sent all his boats, with every man out of the Ship but himself, & order'd Capt. Gordon of the *Prince Laboo* to do the same, but Capt. Gordon only sent one boat & kept an Islander who had been em-

²² Dibble, *op. cit.*, 69.

²³ *Ibid.*

ploy'd on board as Cook, with him, Soon after a large double Canoe full of men rang'd up along side the Prince Laboo, & struck her small boat, that lay along side, & somewhat damag'd her upon which Capt. Gordon run to ye gangway to blame them for it, & the Indian on board taken that advantage pitchd him overboard, & there they immediatly dispatchd him. They directly repair'd along side the Jack-all where Capt. Brown was walking the poop, by himself, when one of ye Savages gets up on the poop, & made a pass at the Good old Captain with an Iron dagger, which he fend'd of, & seizd a Swivell worm & drove the fellow of, he was soon follow'd by a number more which the captain likewise beat of, but at last he was overpower'd by numbers, & receiv'd a fatal stab in the back of the neck and was pitch'd from the poop on to the main deck where he soon expir'd, & so by there savage artfulness they got possession of both Vessells without the loss of a man on there side, in the mean time they had seiz'd the Boats & People that where on shore, & then the Cheifs held a conference together about what was most prudent to be done, some where for killing all the people & destroying the Vessells, So as the horrid deed never should be found out, But at last it was determin'd that ye Officers & people should go on board under a proper guard of Islanders & that there they should finish riging the Vessells, & when they were ready for sea, they should take on board a large quantity of Islanders & proceed to the Island of Owhyhee, & there try to decoy of the King of that Isle, & reduce it, but the Officers & people of the above Vessells had sworn one and all that the night they put to sea they would retake the Vessells from the Natives or loss their lives in the attempt, accordingly the very night they dropt out of the harbour they put their scheme in execution, & soon retook both Vessells with a great slaughter of the natives and only losing one man in the attempt, and after getting refreshments at the Windward Islands, they sail'd for Canton.²⁴

Fornander says that Kalanikupule with his queen and a few attendants were placed in a canoe off Diamond Head and safely gained the shore,

²⁴ Boit, *loc. cit.*

The *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo* proceeded to Hawaii where they exchanged the guns and ammunition left on board by the Oahu warriors, with Kamehameha of Hawaii, for food.

KAMEHAMEHA DECIDES TO CONQUER THE GROUP:

When Kamehameha heard what had happened on Oahu, being in possession of the guns and ammunition of the Oahu warriors, he determined to immediately invade Kalanikupule's domain.

The death of Captains Brown and Gordon took place in January, 1795. By April of that year Kamehameha had invaded Maui and Molokai and had landed on Oahu.

On May 1, 1795, the Battle of Nuuanu took place which made Kamehameha of Hawaii king of all the islands except Kauai.

I became interested in the subject of "Honolulu Harbor" in trying to discover the earliest name by which the harbor was known to the first foreign visitors to our shores. To Mr. Howard M. Ballou, who first drew my attention to "Boit's Log," and to Mr. R. S. Kuykendall of the Historical Commission, who encouraged and helped me very materially with his valuable suggestions, I extend my sincere thanks.

The Passing of Kamehameha I

BY W. D. WESTERVELT.

In the several Hawaiian papers of about sixty years ago, are accounts of the death of the great king Kamehameha I. The united story is well worthy of preservation.

He was born at Kohala, Hawaii, in the year 1736. He died at Kailua, May 8, 1819, and was therefore 83 years of age when death came.

Kamakau, a native writer, thus sums up Kamehameha.

"As a youth he was skillful in all games. His body was well filled out and muscular, and he had very broad shoulders. His face was thick and his ears large. He had great self-control and his feeling inside was not always shown in his face. He was a father for the fatherless, life for the old men and women, a help for the distressed, a farmer and a fisherman for the hungry, a kapa maker for the poor, and he did not collect taxes from the bodies of men, the animals, the houses, the clothing or the food. Up to the time of his death his body was not weak with old age, his eyes were not blind, his head was not bent over; only by his white hair was he known as an old man."

He was ill a long time at Kailua. Kalanimoku and other chiefs left Oahu to go to him. Some of these chiefs were sorcerer or medicine priests; Kalanimoku seems to have been one of the highest and most carefully taught of these priest-chiefs.

When they saw their king they knew that his illness was beyond their reach and that no medicine could heal him, so they agreed to tell him that he must look to his gods for life or death.

The high priest (kahuna-nui), probably Hewahewa, said to him, "Perhaps you had better build a house for your gods. You may live."

The chiefs seconded the word of the priest and a heiau (temple) was either built or repaired.

Ku-kaili-moku was the god for whom this heiau was made. He was Kamehameha's chief god and was consulted in all times of war or great trouble. He was made of wicker work in the shape of a head, covered with the most costly and most beautiful golden and red feathers. It was said that sometimes when he was consulted the feathers would rustle and rise up, showing his anger against Kamehameha's enemies and his prophecy of victory over them. A heiau or temple for this god was made of cut or hewn ohia trees and in the evening a tabu was announced. The priest asked Kamehameha for a human sacrifice, saying, "A man for your god that you may live."

When the people saw this house of ohia wood built, they were greatly frightened, thinking that men would be caught and killed and laid on the altar. In their fear they fled through the evening shadows and concealed themselves in the rough lava and in the forests. "By morning, only a few men were left with the chiefs.

They waited in their hiding places, for the sacrifice of some one to be finished and the tabu lifted. When the body should be placed on the altar they could safely return.

Kamehameha, however, did not permit any such sacrifice. He said to the chiefs and priests, according to one statement, "The man belongs to the chief," or according to another account, "The man is tabu for my chief," meaning that he forbade any human sacrifices and set apart the people for his son Liholiho. They were all "tabu" to any other person.

The priests prayed earnestly before Kukailimoku and watched for the least motion of his feathers, but there was no response.

The king became more seriously ill and sent Liholiho to the temple, saying, "Go and pray to the god. I cannot, I am too weak." But the illness rapidly increased.

The chiefs heard that there was a powerful priest (kahuna mana) who could bring life to the sick. *Pua* and *Kapo* were his gods. The chiefs knew the power of that man and agreed to build two houses, a hale akua kane and a hale akua wahine. If the priest could not prevail in these houses, then the gods were to be carried to the sleeping house. These gods were

Kalai-pahoa or Pua, both names for one god and Kapo. Alae was another name for Kapo. These were considered very powerful gods by the sorcerers. Kamehameha knew the priest for he had been healed in a previous illness by his incantations. Therefore he was very glad when the chiefs sent for this priest.

The chiefs built two houses for the priest and his gods near the sick king. They carried Kamehameha into these houses that he might "get life before the gods." But he could not eat and was growing very weak. "The favor of these gods could not be secured."

After three days, the chiefs saw his increasing weakness and carried him back to his own rest house. That night they carried him into the men's eating house, the hale mua, to give him food. He took a mouthful of poi and a cup of water.

Then they carried him back to the rest house. The two houses were very close together because it was tabu for a man to eat in the house where the male and female members of the family had been sleeping. The king could not take any food in the rest house.

About ten o'clock that night they lifted him and carried him again into the hale mua (first house) for food, but he only took a mouthful of poi and a swallow of water.

The chiefs said, "Give us your last words." He did not answer. Then one of his brothers, (Ka-iki-o-ewa) said, "O ka lani, here are all of us, your brothers, your prince (Liholiho) and the foreigner Olohana (John Young). Lay upon us your last command."

Then the king said, "I mea aha?" (What is this thing?).

Kaikioewa said, "I hua na makou." "That we may have the fruit of your life."

The king said, "E na i wale no oukou i kuu pono—" ("Enjoy quietly what I have made right—"). He did not finish his sentence and his last words were lost. Then the spirit was leaving the body.

Then John Young took him by the neck and bent over to kiss him and Hoapili took his ear and whispered that he would care for the body when death came.

Then they returned to the rest house. At midnight they carried him again to the hale mua. His head was in the

door of the hale mua (the rest house) and his body lay in the hale moe (the sleeping house). He began to breathe hard and they carried him back and he lay in the rest house until two o'clock in the morning, when his spirit flew away from the body and the breath departed.

He was lifted and carried so frequently because of the tabu and the ceremonial defilement of eating in the same room where he had lived with women.

The night that Kamehameha died was the 14th of Kaelo, the night of Hoku. The child of a daughter of Kamehameha born that night was named Lele-i-o-hoku.

When he was dead, the chiefs were wailing because of the desolation. Kalanimoku heard them when he went into the eating house which was near the house of death. He gathered all the people there. There were two old men. One went outside and one was left inside. Kalanimoku let him remain because he had been a favorite of the king. Then they all returned to the rest house and the chiefs talked about the body, many saying, "I will care for the body. One chief proposed to eat the body and conceal it effectually."

Kaahumanu said, "Perhaps this body is not in our care. The breath which was ours has fled. *This* body belongs to the new king."

Hoapili said to the chiefs, "You have no kuleana (no right) in this body, because my chief (Liholiho) and I are the ones who have the care of this body. So it was commanded.

Then they carried the dead body into the hale mua for the observance of the kahuna customs. A pig was brought and laid before the body as an offering. The pig was a sacrifice that the spirit might be kept well and be cared for and dwell with the au-makua or ancestor-gods.

The priest offered the sacrifice before the gods with the prayer, "Save the spirit of the one who is dead. Take care of him and let him dwell with the au-makua." And all the chiefs said "*Amama*."

Then the priest said to the chiefs, "I tell you the law of death. If any are to die with him, thus it shall be done. If the body stay here, there is only one man to die; outside,—four men are to die. If the body is carried to the *halelua*,

the place for the death ceremonies, then ten men die. When the body is inside the house, then fifteen men die. When morning comes another man dies."

Then the high priest took a pig in his hand and made it clean for the heir of the kingdom to remove the defilement of the dead body and purify the heir so that he could leave that place, going to another district, returning when Kailua was purified. When this was done, he said, "Where shall the high chief dwell?"

The chiefs replied, "Where shall he live? You know, and must tell the place where he ought to go."

The priest said, "There are two places, Ka-u and Kohala."

The chiefs decided that Kohala was the best place for the new king, a place full of his own people. The priest said, "This is the right place. He must not stay in Kona, for Kona is defiled by this death."

This was about daylight. They carried the body to the hale-lua. The people saw the dead body and wailed and howled and called out the virtues of the dead chief.

One man was crazed when he saw the body carried by. He leaped upon the chiefs and the dead body, hoping to be killed that he might die with his king. The chiefs remembered the command of Kamehameha: "No man shall die. Men are tabu for the chief." The chiefs drove him away many times. Many people wanted to die on the corpse but could not. Even Kalanimoku wanted to be killed and HOOKIO pushed him away. One story states that HOOKIO also tried to provoke the chiefs to slay him.

In the morning, Liholiho started on his way to Kohala with other chiefs, obeying the word of the priest.

It was the belief in olden times that an heir must leave land ceremonially defiled by death and must wait until that land has been reconsecrated. The dead body must be cleansed and the bones tied up and laid on the place in the temple for the dead body, and then must be secreted.

The tabu of a chief's death was this. When death came the land was defiled and the heir must go to another district and remain until the body was fully prepared and the bones

made fast in their bundle. Then the defilement of the land was removed.

When Liholiho had sailed away, the people raised their voices in lamentation. They acted like crazy persons or like wild beasts. Their deeds were so evil that they cannot be mentioned.

The sorcerer-priests began their prayers about Kamehameha as if his death had been produced by sorcery. It was not in the thought of these priests that he had died of sickness and old age. While these priests were making their place for prayer and marking it with kapa, a high chief Keeaumoku, a brother of Kaahumanu, crazy with rum, tore down their kapas.

Then the priests charged the death of the king upon Kaahumanu and her family. The people treated them evilly.

Ten days passed. Then Liholiho returned from Kawaihae.

The second day after his return the chiefs and people of Kamehameha, and the residents of Kona were gathered together. This was at Kamakahonu, in Kailua.

Kaahumanu set apart Liholiho as ruler of the kingdom because Kamehameha had commanded her thus. "You are the parent, the wife, the guardian and the prime-minister for our son. If he does wrong, you take this kingdom and care for it."

When Liholiho came into the assembly, he was clothed in red with a yellow feather cloak falling from his shoulders, and on his head was a royal hat from England. Two chiefs were by him, one on one side with a kahili, the royal feather standard, the other was walking with the royal calabash spittoon on the other side.

He met Kaahumanu and she said, "O divine one. I tell you the message of your father. Here are the chiefs and the people of your father. Behold your household and your land. But we are to eat the land together."

Liholiho assented to Kaahumanu's words and was recognized as head of the kingdom, and his name was announced as Kamehameha II. Kaahumanu was accepted as Prime-minister.

A house had been built for the bones of Kamehameha as the place where he should become an akua au-makua.

When the days of purification were ended, the heiau places established for Kamehameha, the platform for the body covered with kapa and the girdle of leaves placed around the god, then the high priest finished his ceremonies within the temple house where he had been praying to the god that the spirit of the dead might be given life and welcomed to the company of the good spirits to dwell with Wakea, and not be sent to dwell with Milu, the king of the underworld. He was continually burdened with hope of getting life for the spirit. This prayer was called lupa-lupa.

Kamakau says, "If a spirit has no rightful place among the gods, then there is a prayer with daily sacrifice. There is also the prayer of quiet distress when the one praying waits quietly on the gods. There are many forms of prayer concerning the path to the gods. Different ideas prevailed about the method of changing a spirit into an au-makua. Sometimes it was permitted to go to its ancestors and sometimes to the beautiful land where spirits dwell.

When these ceremonies were finished, Hoapili prepared to obey the command given him before Kamehameha to take care of his body and thoroughly secrete it.

The children and grandchildren of Keaweheulu had the natural right to care for the body of Kamehameha because they controlled the burial places of Kiola-kaa and Waiohinu at Ka-u. But Kamehameha distrusted them, because when his own father Keona died, they took the bones to hide in the pali of Kaawaloa, and nevertheless pointed out the place to other people. He thought they would not be true to his bones, therefore he gave them to Hoapili to hide and not reveal.

About midnight, when the people were sleeping and no one passing along the paths, and the lava field of Puu-o-ka-loa lay in sacred silence, Hoapili sent his man Hoolulu to get the tied-up bundle of the body of Kamehameha and carry it to Kaloko, Kekaha. He got it, laid it on his back, carried a gun in his hand and went out on the lava along the path of Puukaloa. He saw a stone which he thought was a man and fired his gun at it. The sound was heard at Kailua and Honokohau, and the chiefs thought that the body of Kamehameha had been taken by some man.

Early in the morning, Hoapili and Keopuolani went in a boat to Kaloko and met the trusted servant who was watching the pit where the body was concealed.

It was said that the high chiefs Kamee-ia-moku and Kamanawa had been concealed in this same secret pit, and also the body of Kalola Pupuka (w) the child of Honoka-wai-lani and Kahekili Nui Ahumanu.

Sometimes the bones of a high chief were dishonored if they could be found.

Another story says that Hoolulu, a chief and confidential friend of Hoapili was the one who took the bones (after the flesh had been removed and burned) and secreted the bones in a Kona cave. Returning in the morning, he met two natives. 'Did you see anyone pass in the night?' They replied in the negative. The chief was ready to kill them if they had seen him.

Kamehameha III., persuaded Hoolulu to show him the cave. They started, but a crowd followed them and Hoolulu refused to go on. Never afterward would he listen to a word from the people about the last dwelling place of Kamehameha.

And this is the Hawaiian saying, "Only the stars of the heavens know Kamehameha."

The Identity of the Oregon Mission Press

BY HOWARD MALCOLM BALLOU.

Fourteen years ago the writer, in his paper, *The History of the Hawaiian Mission Press*, read before this society in 1908 and published as the fourteenth paper of the Hawaiian Historical Society, quoted the statement in a letter from Mr. E. O. Hall to the Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. that the press designed to be taken to Oregon as a gift from the members of the Sandwich Island Mission to their brethren of the Oregon Mission was a small hand card press which had come out with him in the Hellespont in 1835.

This pioneer Oregon press is still in existence in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland, Oregon, and for many years has borne a placard claiming that it was not only the first press in Oregon but was also the identical press first sent with the pioneer Hawaiian Missionaries to the Sandwich Islands in the *Thaddeus* in 1819.

Further research in the Archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston has brought to light two other letters from Hawaiian missionaries corroborating Mr. Hall's statement.

In the letter to the secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. dated Jan. 26, 1839, Mr. Hall writes:

"Mr. Spalding has sent me a small elementary book in the Nez Perces language in order that I could see the proportions of the various letters in putting up the type. He says also, that he shall this winter prepare some others, so that they will be ready for me to print when I arrive. I have accordingly put up our old fount of Pica and Long Primer English, and also the new fount of English, received within a year or two. The two former are nearly worn out; but the latter is almost new, but a small fount, being all contained in one case. This latter we can dispense with, with some inconvenience; and the two former are supplied with new founts recently received. The Press designed to be taken is only a small hand, card press, which was a dona-

tion to this Mission, and came out with us in the Hellespont. I have had it put in order, by adding a frisket, points, &c, and hope to make it answer the purpose till the wants of those missions shall require greater facilities for the prosecution of that branch of labor. The type, also, will probably do till the language is so far reduced to system that the proper proportions can be sent for all of the letters. This will be done in the course of a year or two."

A few weeks later Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to Mr. Anderson, dated Honolulu, February 11, 1839, writes:

"The health of Mrs. Hall has been feeble for a long time. A voyage to the region of Columbia River has been recommended as a measure promising benefit. An opportunity now offers of a passage to Vancouver in one of the Hudson Bay Company's vessels, and Mr Hall has concluded to avail himself of it. He will take passage with his wife in the ship *Nereide* to sail in about a fortnight. We shall send by him about 50 reams of paper, a small assortment of types and a card press, being the one which was sent to this mission some years ago, and for which we have had no use.

Mr Hall will make himself useful to the Mission in the Oregon Territory in various ways, and by putting up this press and printing such little works as the means which we are able to furnish will admit. His passage and freight of goods will be \$250 payable here. He will probably take charge of two or more natives of these islands who will go to assist the families of the missionaries in their domestic concerns. The persons in view are members of the Honolulu church, who in a certain sense devote themselves to the work of foreign missions, and will go with a design to help forward the cause. A man & his wife were sent last year, and we hear from them very pleasing accounts. We hope these who are expected to go now will prove to be equally devoted & useful."

Two months later, Mr. Bingham, writing from Honolulu, April 19, 1839,—a paragraph printed in volume 36, page 188 of the *Missionary Herald*—says:

"The church & congregation of which I am pastor

has recently sent, a small but complete printing and Binding establishment by the Hand of Brother Hall, to the Oregon mission, which with other substantial supplies amount to 444.00 doll.—The press was a small Hand press presented to this mission but not in use. The expense of the press with one small font of type, was defrayed by about 50 native females including Kinau or Kaahumanu 2d. This was a very pleasing act of Charity. She gave 10 doll. for herself & 4 for her little daughter Victoria Kaahumanu, 3d”

In contradiction to these three statements is an article in the “Friend” for September, 1871, in which Mr. Hall is quoted as saying:

“When I arrived in Honolulu in 1835, the press had been laid aside. It was probably brought out when the mission was established in 1820. When I visited Oregon in 1839, I took it with me. I have always regarded it as the first printing press introduced into American Territory west of the Rocky Mountains.”

To those who may be disposed to credit this last statement, instead of accepting the three contemporary letters, the following arguments, as set forth by the writer in his History of the Oregon Mission Press, (Oregon Historical Quarterly, March and June, 1922) may prove of interest.

The serial number 14 borne by the press now in Portland is not a proof of the very early origin of the press, as it can readily be proved not to be, as claimed, the fourteenth press manufactured by Ramage, but only the fourteenth press of that particular small type, which was the third style of press designed by him, and patented May 28, 1818, too late for it to have been in the worn-out condition that the first Hawaiian press was when sent out by the Thaddeus in 1819.

As early as August 18, 1825, Mr. Loomis informs the corresponding secretary:

“The press we now have is so much worn in the screw as to render it impossible to take an even impression, and as the screw is cracked we know not how soon it may become worthless.”

On Aug. 20, 1825, Mr. Bingham writes to the same effect:

“Our printing press is materially damaged and may

fail utterly at any time. The nut in which the screw plays is cracked quite in two."

The writer is assured by Mr. Bullen that the injuries related by the missionaries, as quoted above, are not at all applicable to an iron, arched press such as the one exhibited in Portland, but are such as might befall Ramage's type of wooden presses.

On Nov. 23, 1831, the Hawaiian missionaries wrote:

"We have only one press in which we may put any any purpose and Mr. Shepard thinks we ought not to rely upon this, as it may give out."

Again on Oct. 10, 1832, they complain:

"The two old presses which we have here were both second hand presses when they were sent out. The one which was first sent is of little use, and the other is liable to fail us."

Rev. A. Bishop, speaking of a new press which had recently arrived, says on Oct. 3, 1832:

"The press is now in successful operation at Oahu.

It is the only good press in the Islands, the two old ones are Ramage presses and nearly worn out."

This opinion is confirmed by two of the printers, writing at about the same date. Mr. Rogers, on October 2, 1832, and Mr. Shepard on November 12, 1832, say respectively:

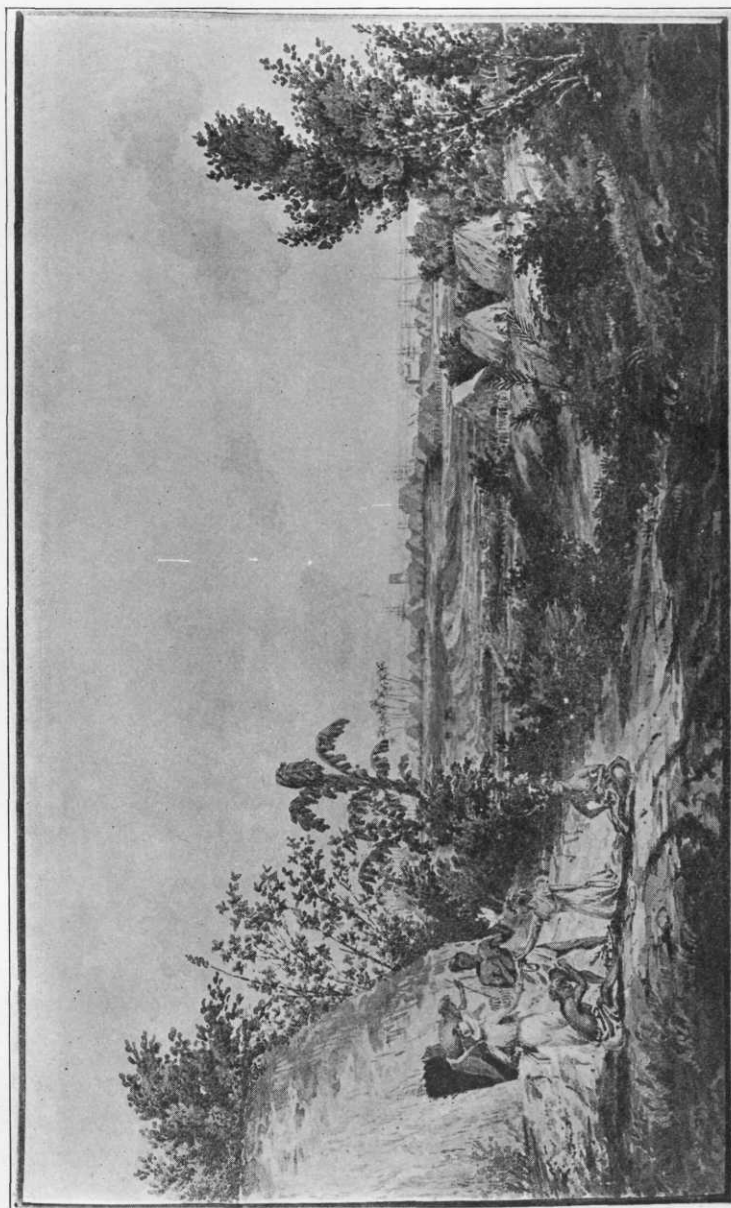
"We have but one press fit to do heavy work on—the two Ramage presses are worn out."

"We have only one press in which we may put any confidence for doing good work."

It is evident, seven years after the latest of these reports of the uselessness of the original press, how unlikely it is that such a worn-out article should have been presented to the Oregon mission as any part of a gift valued by them at \$500.

The last book to be printed in Honolulu before the arrival of the second press was the Gospel of Luke, printed duodecimo in half sheets or 6 pages to the form. It can readily be proved by actual measurement that such a form of 6 pages could not have been printed on a press the small size of the Oregon press, which would admit nothing larger than 10x14 inches.

I hope that these arguments will be considered sufficient to disprove the tradition that has so long persisted that the Oregon press was our first Hawaiian press.



Drawn by R. Beechey. Midⁿ

View near the Town of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.

From the Taro Patches.

H. M. S. Blossom.

EARLY VIEW OF HONOLULU BY R. BEECHEY
FROM THE ORIGINAL WATER COLOUR IN THE POSSESSION OF
STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

Two Early Paintings of Honolulu

BY RICHARD B. BEECHEY.

Midshipman on H. M. S. Blossom, painted in 1826, now in possession of Stephen W. Phillips of Salem, Massachusetts.

BY STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

As is well known, an English exploring expedition made a voyage in the Pacific and Bering Sea in 1825-9 to coöperate, if possible, with the ill-fated expedition of Sir John Franklin. This expedition in H. M. S. Blossom was commanded by Capt. Frederick William Beechey, afterwards Rear Admiral, and numbered among her midshipmen Richard B. Beechey, a younger brother of the captain. They were sons of the distinguished artist and portrait painter, Sir William Beechey, and both brothers had considerable ability with the pencil. Of the many excellent illustrations in the published account of the voyage (2 vols. 8vo, London: 1831) four are from sketches by the captain and two from sketches by the young midshipman, Richard B. Beechey.

A few years ago a portfolio of beautiful water color sketches by Richard B. Beechey of the places visited on this voyage, which had never been published, were sold in London. Among them were two paintings of Honolulu entitled "View of the Town of Honoruru, Sandwich Islands 1826. Drawn by R. Beechey Mid'n H. M. S. Blossom" and "View near the Town of Honoruru, Sandwich Islands from the Taro Patches. Drawn by R. Beechey Mid'n H. M. S. Blossom."

The first seems to be a view from somewhere near the head of Emma Street, overlooking Nuuanu Stream, with Alewa Heights in the distance and shows a fishpond enclosure by the side of the stream and a considerable number of grass houses beyond. There are several dogs and pigs around and a number of natives, one of whom wears a sort of holoku, while the others have more scanty costumes.

The View from the Taro Patches is from a place on shore, looking out to sea over the harbor, in which the masts of ships can be seen. In the foreground before a grass house is a group

consisting of a native girl rigged out in European finery and a sailor clasping hands, while a native man stands over them and two other natives are squatting on the ground. On the back in pencil is written in what appears to be a contemporary hand "This represents the marriage of a girl of the Islands to a sailor of the Blossom," which is probably the interpretation of the scene.

The sketches are in beautiful condition and really very charming little pictures, not crude in any way and showing considerable technical skill. The number of grass houses shown throws some light on the disputed point about the doors, and apparently indicates that the door was made in the side like a hole with no protection to keep the rain from running down over the opening. The figures of persons are too small to give any detail of ornaments or dress. The vegetation shown seems scanty and the only real trees shown are coconuts.

One picture is dated 1826, and as the "Blossom" was at the islands May 18 to 31, 1826, and again January 25 to March 4, 1827, they were probably painted on the first visit.

As very early and hitherto unpublished views of Honolulu, by an artist of some repute, the pictures seem to have importance.

STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

Salem, Mass, December 1, 1922.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE PAST DECADE.

An Index of the Publications of the Society to 1912 was
printed in the Nineteenth Annual Report.

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Twenty-First Annual Report, 1912. 1913.

Alexander, William DeWitt: Obituary of. pp. 6, 7.

Westervelt, Wm. D. The First Hawaiian Historical Society. pp. 8-11.

Southerland, Adm. W. H. H. Incidents Connected With the Election of King Kalakaua in February 1874. pp. 12-15.

Green, Francis J. The Ceremony of the Mysteries. pp. 16-22.

Yzendoorn, Reginald. A Study in Hawaiian Cartography Prior to Cook's Rediscovery. pp. 23-32, illus.

Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1913. 1914.

Westervelt, Wm. D. Hawaii's most interesting historical document. p. 8, illus.

Yzendoorn, Reginald. Establishment of the First English Newspaper in the Hawaiian Islands. pp. 17, 18.

Westervelt, Wm. D. Kamehameha's Cession of the Island of Hawaii to Great Britain in 1794. pp. 19-24.

Restarick, Henry B. John Young of Hawaii, an American. pp. 25-43.

Twenty-Third Annual Report, 1914. 1915.

Castle, Wm. R. Sketch of Constitutional History in Hawaii. pp. 13-27, illus.

Dole, Sanford B. Thirty Days of Hawaiian History—(Accession of Lunalilo to the Throne). pp. 28-49, illus.

Hatch, Francis M. Constitutional Convention of 1894. pp. 50-61.

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report, 1915. 1916.

Westervelt, Wm. D. Obituary of Dr. N. B. Emerson.
pp. 16, 17, illus.

Dole, Sanford B. A Hookupn. pp. 18-20.

Lydgate, John M. Ka-umu-alii, The Last King of Kauai.
pp. 21-43, illus.

Thrum, Thomas G. Was There a Lost Son of Kamehameha?
pp. 44-51.

Emerson, Joseph S. The Bow and Arrow in Hawaii.
pp. 52-55.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, 1916. 1917.

Dickey, Hon. Lyle A. Stories of Wailua, Kauai. pp.
14-36, illus.

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in the Hawaiian Islands. pp. 37-45, illus.

Carter, George R. More of John Young. pp. 46-50.

Henriques, Edgar. John Young, the Englishman. pp.
51-54.

Henriques, Lucy Kalanikiekie. Death of Kekaulike, King
of Maui. pp. 55-56.

Cartwright, Jr., Bruce. Some Early Foreign Residents of
the Hawaiian Islands. pp. 57-64, illus.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, 1917. 1918.

Emerson, Joseph S. Selections from a Kahuna's Book of
Prayers. 17-39.

Thrum, Thos. G. Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of
S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian. pp. 40-61, front.

Henriques, Edgar. Notes Regarding Kamehameha I.
pp. 62-70.

Twenty-Seventh Annual Report, 1918. 1919.

Dole, Sanford B. The "General Meeting." pp. 12-18.

Ashford, Clarence W. Last days of the Hawaiian Mon-
archy. pp. 19-30.

Emerson, J. S. Legends and Cradle Song. A story of the
Hawaiian God Ka-ne. pp. 31-35.

Twenty-Eighth Annual Report, 1919. 1920.

Emerson, John S. Emerson, John S. (Senior) pp. 12-16,
illus.

Restarick, Henry B. The Pilgrims of 1820. pp. 16-21, illus.

Castle, Wm. R. Centennial Reminiscences. pp. 21-29.

Dole, Sanford B. The Hawaiian Body Politic. pp. 29-38, illus.

Thrum, Thos. G. Centenary Chronology of the Hawaiian Mission. pp. 39-46.

Twenty-Ninth Annual Report, 1920. 1921.

Emerson, John S. Polynesian alphabets. pp. 10-15.

Emerson, Oliver P. The Bad Boy of Lahaina, the Goblin-Killer of Lanai. pp. 16-19.

Dole, Sanford B. The Old Fish Market. pp. 19-25.

Lydgate, J. M. The Winning of the Mu-Ai-Maia Maiden. pp. 25-31.

Thirtieth Annual Report. 1921-1922.

Cooke, A. Frank. Extracts from Journal of Amos Star Cooke, 1842-1845. pp. 12-23.

Westervelt, W. D. Kamehameha's Method of Government. pp. 24-38.

Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints.

[No. 1.] Meares, John. Extracts from voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789 from China to the northwest coast of America. London: 1791 [Honolulu: 1916.]. pp. 54.

No. 2. Samwell, David. A narrative of the death of Captain James Cook. London: 1786. [Honolulu: 1917.] pp. 26.

No. 3. Ingraham, Joseph. [Extracts from] the log of the brig Hope called the Hope's track among the Sandwich Islands May 20-Oct. 12, 1791. *From the original manuscript in the Library of Congress.* [Honolulu: 1918.] pp. 36.

No. 4. Townsend, Ebenezer, Jr. Extract from the diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., supercargo of the sealing ship "Neptune" on her voyage to the South Pacific and Canton. New Haven: 1888. [Honolulu: 1921.] pp. 33.

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- No. 1. Carter, George R. Joseph Oliver Carter, the founder of the Carter family in Hawaii. Honolulu: 1915. pp. 18.
Carter, George R. A genealogy of the Carter family in Hawaii. [Honolulu.] 1915. pp. 16.
- No. 2. A genealogy of the Wilder family of Hawaii. Honolulu: 1916. pp. 7.
- No. 3. Carter, George R. A genealogy of the Judd family in Hawaii. Honolulu: 1922. pp. 48.

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